

## NUMBER 18

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Fellow Citizens of the Senate  
and House of Representatives:

In the example of our fathers, the internal discussion influences of the people, we trace to the eternal blessed hopes of the friends of freedom. The social elements which were so strong and successful when united against external danger, failed in the more difficult work of properly adjusting their own internal organization. And thus gave way the great principle of self-government. Let us trust that this administration will never forget that by the Government of the People of the United States; and that the testimony which our experience thus far holds out to the great human family, of the precarity and all the blessings of self-government, will be continued in all time to come.

[illegible]

The internal contest has been distinguished as this struggle has unhappily been, by incidents of the most sanguinary character, the obligations of the late treaty of indemnification with us, have been nevertheless, faithfully executed by the Spanish Government.

tablishment of a lasting peace between Spain and the  
of the Spanish American Governments of this hemi-  
sphere, as have availed themselves of the international  
to all of them, of the dispatch of Spain to treat  
on the basis of their entire independence. It is to be re-  
gretted, that simultaneous appointments, by any of the  
interests to negotiate with Spain, had not been made, and  
negotiation itself would have been a simple and direct  
conducting the negotiations, spanning over a large portion  
the world would have been brought to a more speedy  
conclusion.

I ask your attention to the message of my predecessor at the opening of the second session of the nineteenth Congress, relative to our commercial intercourse with Holland, and to the documents connected with that subject, communicated to the House of Representatives on the 16th of January 1821, and also to the message received on the 10th of February 1822, from my predecessor, that I have now to lay before you, and to the report of my present system entitled to have five volumes and the cargoes received to the United States on the 10th of August and 10th of October, and reports dated of the 1st and 10th of September, and in respect for his reference to the Legislature.

With the Sublime Porte, and the Governments on the coast of Barbary, our relations continue to be friendly. The proper steps have been taken to renew our treaty with Morocco.

The Argentine Republic has again promised to send within the current year, a Minister to the United States. A Convention with Mexico for extending the time for the appointment of commissioners to run the boundary line has been concluded, and will be submitted to the Senate. Recent events in that country have awakened the liveliest solicitude in the United States. Aware of the strong temptations existing, and powerful inducements held out to the citizens of the United States, to mingle in the dissensions of our immediate neighbors, instructions have been given to the District Attorney of the United States, where indications warranted to prosecute, without respect to persons, all who might attempt to violate the obligations of our treaty; while at the same time it has been thought necessary to apprise the Government of Mexico that we should require the integrity of our territory to be scrupulously respected by both parties.

menters are still self-tormented by those  
the dissensions. Revolution succeeds revolu-  
tion, injuries are committed upon foreigners en-  
gaged in lawful pursuits, much time elapses be-  
fore a Government sufficiently stable is erected  
to justify expectation of redress—Ministers ar-  
rest and received, and before the discussion of  
past injuries is fairly begun, fresh troubles arise,  
but too frequently new injuries are added to the  
old, to be discussed together, with the existing  
enjoyment, after it has proved its ability to sus-  
tain the assaults made upon it, or with its suc-  
cessor, if overthrown. If this unhappy condi-  
tion of things continues much longer other re-  
medies will be under the painful necessity of de-  
ciding whether justice to their suffering citizens  
does not require a prompt redress of injuries  
by their own power, without waiting for the  
establishment of a Government competent and  
enduring enough to discuss and make satisfac-  
tion for them.

A brief recapitulation of the most important incidents in this protracted controversy, will show how utterly untenable are the grounds upon which this course is attempted to be justified.

seizures and confiscations, under special imperial rescripts, in the ports of other nations occupied by the armies, or under the control of France. Such, it is now conceded, is the character of the wrongs we suffered—wrongful in many cases, so flagrant, that even their authors never denied our right to reparation. Of the extent of these injuries, some conception may be formed from the fact, that after the burning of a large amount at sea, and the necessary deterioration, in other cases, by long detention, the American property so seized and sacrificed at forced sales, excluding what was adjudged to privateers, before or without condemnation, brought into the French Treasury upwards of twenty four millions of francs besides large custom house duties.

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not containing a menace, whosoever it was, not agreeable to the French government to negotiate. The American Minister, of his own accord, refuted the construction which was attempted to be put upon the message, and, at the same time, called to the recollection of the French Ministry, that the President's message was a communication addressed, not to foreign governments, but to the Government of the United States, in which it was enjoined upon by the Constitution, to lay before that body information of the state of the Union, comprehending its foreign as well as its domestic relations; & that if, in the discharge of this duty he felt it incumbent upon him to summon the attention of Congress, in due time, to what might be the possible consequences of existing difficulties with any foreign government, he might fairly be supposed to do so under a sense of what was due from him, in a frank communication with another branch of his own government, & not from any intention of holding a menace over a foreign power. The views taken by him received my approbation, the French government was satisfied, and the negotiation was continued. It terminated in the treaty of July 4, 1854, recognizing the justice of our claims, in part and promising payment to the amount of twenty-five millions of francs, in six annual installments.

Official information of the exchange of ratifications in the United States, reached Paris whilst the Chambers were in session. The extraordinary, and to us injurious delays of the French Government, in their action upon the subject of its fulfilment, have been heretofore stated to Congress, and I have no disposition to enlarge upon them here. It is sufficient to observe that the then pending session was allowed to expire without even an effort to obtain the necessary appropriations; that the two succeeding ones were also suffered to pass away without any thing like a serious attempt to obtain a decision upon the subject;—and that it was not until the fourth session, almost three years after the conclusion of the treaty, and more than two years after the exchange of ratifications, that the bill for the execution of the treaty was passed to a vote and rejected.

in session when the decision of the Chambers reached Washington; and an immediate communication of this apparently final decision of France not to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty, was the course naturally to be expected from the President. The deep tone of dissatisfaction which pervaded the public mind, and the correspondent excitement produced in Congress by only a general knowledge of the result, rendered it more than probable, that a resort to

That the feelings produced in the United States by the news of the rejection of the appropriation, would be such as I have described me to have been, was foreseen by the French Government, & prompt measures were taken by to prevent the con-sequences. The King, person, expressed through our Minister in Paris profound regret at the decision of the Chambers, and promised to send forthwith, a national ship, with despatches to the Minister here, authoring him to give such assurances as would satisfy the Government & People of the U. S. that the treaty would yet be faithfully executed by France. The national ship arrived, and the Minister received his instructions.

The expectations of the French Government were so solemnly made to this Government by that of France, were not realized. — The French Chambers met on the 31st of July, 1834, soon after the election; and although our Minister in Paris urged the French Ministry to bring the subject before them, they declined doing so. He next insisted that the Chambers, if prorogued without acting on the subject, should be re-assembled at a period so early that their action on the treaty might be known at Washington prior to the meeting of Congress. This reason was not only declined, but the Chambers were prorogued to the 29th of December, a day so late that their decision, however urgently pressed, could not, in all probability, be obtained in time to reach Washington before the necessary adjournment of Congress by the constitution. — The reasons given by the Ministry for refusing to convoke the Chambers at an earlier period, were afterwards shown not to be insuperable, their actual convocation on the 1st of December, under a special call for domestic purposes — which fact however, did not become known to this Government until after the commencement of the last session of Congress.

the past or the difficulty of making even the simplest statement of our wrongs, without disturbing the sensibilities of those who had, by their position, become responsible for their redress, and earnestly desirous of preventing further obstacles from that source, I went out of my way to preclude a construction of the message, by which the recommendation that was made to Congress might be regarded as a menace, to France in not only disavowing such a design, but in declaring that her pride and her power were to well known to expect any thing from her fears. The message did not reach Paris until more than a month after the Chambers had been in session; and such were the insensibility of the Ministry to our rightful claims and just expectations, that our Minister had been informed that the matter, when introduced, would

...ology of this industry indicated the right

The Minister of Finance in his opening speech, alluded to the measures which had been adopted to resent the supposed indignity, and recommended the execution of the treaty as a measure required by the honor and justice of France. He as the organ of the ministry, declared the message, the mere expression of the personal opinion of the President, for which neither the Government nor the people of the United States were responsible, and that an engagement had been entered into, for the fulfilment of which the honor of France was pledged. Entertaining these views, the single condition which the French Ministry proposed, annex to the payment of the money, was, that it should not be paid until it was ascertained that the Government of the United States did not intend to injure the interest of France; in other words, that no steps had been authorized by Congress of hostile character towards France.

But this exciting part of the story was short-lived, and was followed by amendment introduced into the bill at the moment of its passage, providing that the money should not be paid until the French Government had received satisfactory explanations of the President's message of the 2d Dec. 1834; and what is still more extraordinary, the President of the Council of Ministers adopted this amendment and consented to its incorporation in the bill. In regard to a supposed insult which had been formally received by the recall of their minister, and the offer of passports to ours, they now, for the first time proposed to ask for explanations. Sentiments and propensities which they had declared could not justly be imputed to the government or people of the United States, are set up as obstacles to the performance of an act of conceded justice to the Government and People. They had declared that the Honor of France required the influence of the engagement into which the King had entered, unless Congress allowed the treaty to become a law.

The discussions which intervene between the several departments of our Government belong to ourselves, and, for any thing said in them, our public servants are only responsible to their own constituents, and to each other. If, in the course of their consultations, facts are erroneously stated, or unjust deductions are made, they require no other inducement to correct them, however informed of their error, than their love of justice, and what is due to their own character; but they can never submit to be interrogated upon the subject, as a matter of right, by a foreign power. When our discussion terminate in acts, our responsibility to foreign powers commences, not as individuals but a nation. The principle which calls in question the President for the language of his message, would equally justify a foreign power in demanding explanation of the language used in the report of a committee or by a member in debate.

This is not the first time that the Government of France has taken exception to the message of American Presidents. President Washington, and the first President Adams, in the per-

performance of their duties to the American People.

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This micrograph shows a cross-section of a polymer film. The top layer is a dark, textured material, likely the polymer film itself, which appears to be composed of many small, irregular particles. Below this layer is a lighter, granular substrate, possibly a support material or a different layer of the film. The interface between the two layers is visible, showing some roughness and irregularities.





